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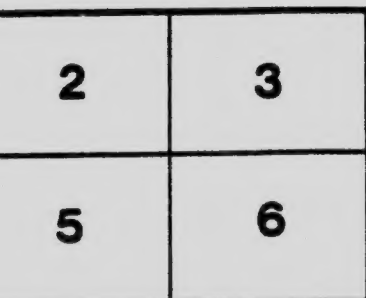
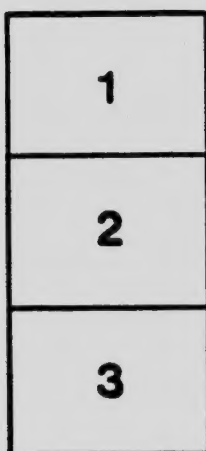
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# Is the Winning Post in Sight?

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## ARE IRELAND'S PROBLEMS ON THE EVE OF SOLUTION?

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FROM A CANADIAN STANDPOINT

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By CHARLES H. MACKINTOSH,

(Formerly M.P. for Ottawa and Lieutenant-Governor  
of the Canadian North-West Territories.)

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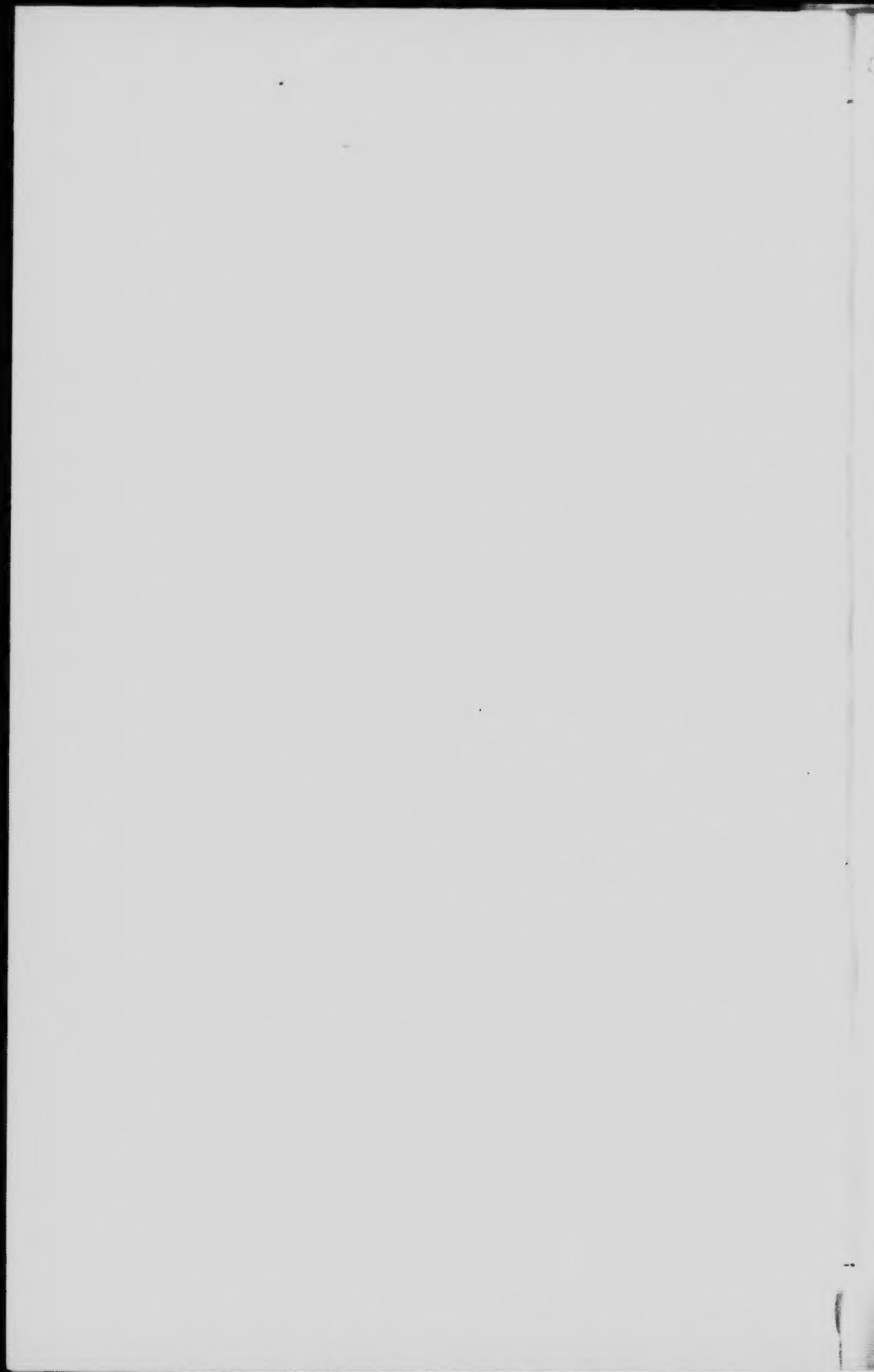
### EX-GOVERNOR MACKINTOSH ON THE IRISH SITUATION OF TO-DAY

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[Reprinted from "United Canada."]



James Mitchell &  
from C.H. Macdonald

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## FROM A CANADIAN STANDPOINT

### I.

Ireland freed from entanglements of restricted development; Ireland assuming a position of dignity amid the galaxy of responsibly governed nations: the curtain dropped,—the black past obliterated. Ireland welcomed into the circle of Freedom's commonwealths—vindicated, conciliated, redeemed! Not alone those in Ireland,—who have known dark days of sorrow and tribulation; in 60 years have seen a once proud and prosperous population exceeding 8,000,000 reduced by famine, sequestration, injustice and expatriation, to little more than 4,000,000—but 40,000,000 Irishmen throughout the world, descendants and kin, will rejoice over the prospect of an unjust ban about to disappear; a great people vouchsafed an opportunity of vindicating themselves forever from aspersions of disloyalty, sedition and premeditated crime.

Why such hope in contradistinction to past experiences? This: the cabled announcement, that a sister nation has awakened to the righteousness of civilization's demand; has passed through the fire, and is on the eve of fulfilling John Redmond's fervently expressed hope—"A United Ireland will be reached, please God, through the methods of Peace and Amity"; on the eve of justifying Mr. Asquith's belief, that England "could never go back to the old position of suspicion, recrimination, irreconcilable hostility"; on the eve, too, of proving Mr. Bonar Law's candour, when stating "Ireland never had so many sympathizers in the British Parliament than at the present time." More, on the eve of establishing the sincerity of the Prime Minister's pledged efforts "for an immediate settlement" of issues involving Ireland's demand for justice. When in 1914, doubt and despair went hand in hand; when the sincerity of Mr. Lloyd George was impugned, Mr. T. P. O'Connor wrote:—"He is the man to take his life in his hands and once he has made up his mind to anything, nothing can turn him back." The Prime Minister of Great Britain has not turned back.

That official announcement is:

"The Government will do anything to bring "about a settlement" and the Irish party leaders are

"equally anxious" . . . "The Prime Minister will announce his scheme for an Irish settlement, providing, if adopted, for the application of the Home Rule Act, now part of the Statutes, with provisionary arrangements for the Ulster area."

It would seem that since 1914, Europe's heart-rending war has infused a spirit of fairness, brotherly love, even humility, throughout the ranks of men long callous and indifferent. If so, not in vain have lives been offered upon the shrine of patriotic duty. Ireland has suffered; the victim of commercial selfishness, too often a tyranny suggesting the philosophic belief, that it were as well for rebels to make their own laws, as for statesmen to create laws that make rebels.

Looking backwards, by comparison even the ordinary observer must be impressed by a realization of marvellous changes throughout the world of thought and action; both tending to self-assertion and aggressive democracy. To-day, Ireland is solaced and sobered by manifestations of human sympathy and generous forbearance. The many are beginning to revolt against bygone methods; the few, to pause ere pursuing paths leading towards disruption and anarchy. All are confronted by evidence, that within her boundaries Ireland possesses every element necessary for the restoration of domestic welfare and national prosperity. Last year (1916) Ireland's progress was phenomenal, and although to an extent the result of war demands, yet indicative of what can and will be accomplished, when her people have recovered from the stress and stagnation of earlier days. For instance, one of her staple products, flax, increased 95,000 acres; railway receipts in six months increased \$136,000; cattle exports increased 266,000 head over the returns for 1914; hog exports 72,000 as compared with those of 1914; agricultural organization returns showed 1,023 societies and increase in turnover, \$20,000,000.

And, as to Ireland's war record?

Lord Winborne, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, made a report last year, giving the number and religious denominations of Irish recruits, prior to Easter, 1916, before the unfortunate riots took place in Dublin and elsewhere. The figures were:—

|                     | Catholics. | Protestants. |
|---------------------|------------|--------------|
| Ulster . . . . .    | 14,846     | 40,049       |
| Leinster . . . . .  | 10,681     | 1,401        |
| Munster . . . . .   | 15,124     | 990          |
| Connaught . . . . . | 2,791      | 368          |
| Dublin (City) . .   | 13,141     | 4,339        |

This was from August, 1914. At the outbreak of the war, over 34,000 Irish were in the regular army, exclusive of the navy, from 1814 to 1916. Irish regiments were raised and went to the front from the Tyne, Liverpool, Manchester and London, and in the English and Scottish regiments are thousands of Irish defenders of the Empire. Canada, Australia and New Zealand have sent thousands of Irish to fight for freedom and civilization—hence Mr. Redmond's estimate of 300,000 Irishmen, not forgetting the splendid 10th Irish Division at Sulva Bay, under Sir Bryan Mahan, is not overdrawn, while since then the Connaught Rangers from Montreal were received with earnest hospitality in various Irish cities.

### **NEW LIFE FOR IRELAND.**

The new life for Ireland will mean emancipation from dependence entirely upon the soil. Mr. Balfour, as long ago as 1895, candidly said: "There was an unhappy time when the British Parliament thought they were well employed crushing Irish manufactures, in the interest of the British producer. It was cruel, and has been proved a stupid policy." Under new conditions, Ireland's transport facilities will be improved; for years economic writers have deplored the fact that railway rates were almost prohibitive, the fact being, that it was cheaper to send cattle by road than rail, cheaper to carry goods to England and have them re-shipped to Ireland at through English rates! This rectified, and with arterial drainage of the Owenmore, Bann, Luck and Barrow waters, thereby reclaiming several hundred thousand acres of arable land, and with a system of re-forestation, it is fair to predict a regenerated, prosperous and contented nation.

It will be remembered, that during the debate upon the Home Rule enactment, last March, Mr. Lloyd George candidly questioned the wisdom of



forcibly applying a law "to any section of Ireland which has not their consent." That opinion remains for discussion, for it would seem that any proposed experiment of permanently establishing forbidden ground, lines of demarcation, special preserves, closed against a great majority of those hitherto enjoying the privileges of joint heritage, will be open to question; for experience far from justifies belief that exceptional or preferential legislation, designed to pacify dissenting sections, would effect the purpose of lasting national solidarity. It would seem that hydra-headed Intolerance, usually represented as indigenous of the South, found congenial soil elsewhere. At all events, it is to be hoped that weapons of force and armed resistance threatened by the North-East province, will be supplanted by luxuriant olive branches. The finger of the dial points towards a critical hour; the Irish hand is extended; the Irish heart is responsive. Weaklings would seek refuge in procrastination and indecision: not so British statesmen, who never, in time of stress, proved unequal to a task. These know that Roscommon spoke with no uncertain sound. Within a few days, Longford will probably follow. Why allow the breach to widen?

A few days ago, a correspondent of one of the New York dailies, after alleging that Irish Americans "have no right to serve two masters," advanced the argument that Ireland had been "treated more or less like a spoiled child." Those who hope for Ireland's complete regeneration, have persistently condemned a policy which doomed the Irish people to a "spoiled child" environment. They demanded that a great people be clothed in the habiliments, enjoy the privileges and assume the responsibilities of maturity; then and then only, would eventually exist a union of hearts and community of purpose. It cannot be gainsaid that the position is critical. The British Government, burthened with titanic cares, added to these a pledge to face and, if possible, redeem promises made in 1914. For this reason, earnest believers in responsible government for the whole of Ireland, are of opinion that a drop more treacle and a trifle less vinegar, a little more diplomacy and a modicum less vituperation on the part of many, would strengthen the ranks of friends across the Atlantic.

The proof that patriotic Englishmen are moved by conscientious principle rather than autocratic prejudice, is found in the fact that Sir Robert Cecil, who is acting Foreign Secretary in the absence of Mr. Balfour, now in the United States, openly avowed conversion to the Nationalist cause, declaring at Southampton, quite recently:

"I was a bitter opponent of Mr. Redmond in politics; but welcome the opportunity of saying that Mr. Redmond has played a splendid part throughout the war. Before the war, there were many of us who, if we spoke quite frankly, would have expressed doubts as to the complete loyalty and patriotism of the Irish Nationalist party. That feeling has gone forever."

What then, will supply the panacea? Mutual forbearance, patriotic unselfishness. It would indeed be deplorable had history to record the fact that a nation whose financial, physical and intellectual resources, are protecting the great centres of the old world from annihilation, whose pledges have always been kept and whose alliances have drawn to her the sympathy and adherence of the world's chivalry—was unable to rectify a great evil, by redressing wrongs complained of by a sister commonwealth; a commonwealth whose sons, confiding in her promises, were and are, day after day, shedding their blood on the battlefields of Europe. Should Great Britain prove powerless in this final effort, the triumph of world-civilization might well be despaired of.

It will be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George, many years ago (1904) speaking at Carnarvon, declared "we must have an effective parliament for the whole country and we cannot have Home Rule for any one section, without granting it to all." This proves how many almost insurmountable obstacles he and his associates encountered. Prime Minister to-day, he apprehends the consequences of Union without Consolidation; for the solemn duty devolves upon him, to so adjust the scales that, providing any experimental compromise becomes indispensably necessary, privileges vouchsafed one section of Ireland be no greater than those guaranteed the remainder.

## A BLEMISH ON BRITISH STATESMANSHIP.

Mr. Bonar Law, during the discussion last month said: "The present situation is a blemish on British statesmanship." To-day it seems as though the blemish would disappear.

During the same parliamentary debate, Mr. Asquith, former Prime Minister, a statesman whose patriotic self-abnegation in the hour of crisis, will not be forgotten, urged that Overseas representatives should be called in as members of a special Imperial Conference. Mr. Lloyd George favoured this; on the other hand many held that, being an "Imperial" question, Imperial Commissioners should be selected. The *London Times*, commenting upon the situation, editorially remarked:

"The Irish settlement is not a problem in which the Dominions can help directly. The Dominions are remote from the scene and it is suspected have been biased on the National side."

The Dominion of Canada is certainly removed from the immediate centre of operations; but Canadians have, so far, failed to appreciate alleged advantages of enlightening proximity. They did not, and do not, admit that "bias" should create suspicion; naturally assuming that those interested in what had been forced into the category of complex problems, were sincere in professing solicitude for immediate solution. On this side of the ocean, parliament has frequently, by resolutions, expressed hopes that the unfortunate controversy might be brought to an amicable termination. In 1882, the writer first voted for Irish Home Rule, and examination of despatches in the pink loop archives in London would probably reveal the fact that Canadians were patronizingly, but politely, advised to concentrate attention upon their own domestic affairs. Nevertheless, while the reproof may have seemingly been justifiable, from the Home Government's point of view, the interloping Parliament of Canada has the consolation of knowing that the electors and parliament of Great Britain finally approved of that now characterized, nay, virtually stigmatized, as "bias on the National side." Irrespective of practical experience in the vineyard of conciliation, toleration and patriotic compromise,

the conversion of many British statesmen is triumphant vindication of those who, in earlier days, championed the legitimacy of Ireland's struggle for recognition. Justification was first emphasized by the declaration of William Gladstone: "Ireland is the one failure of the British race." At last, the too frequently callous indifference of that sometimes erratic centre of power—the People—was stirred to its depths. Gladstone cited "the flourishing condition of Canada as a tangible proof that Home Rule, fairly administered, vouchsafed progress, contentment and prosperity. Why not in Ireland?" That question was singularly suggestive. Canada has passed through an ordeal fairly justifying an expression of opinion upon the subject. Mr. Gladstone had openly declared that the legislation between England and Ireland "was brought about by a combination of violence, fraud, baseness, tyranny and cruelty, in a degree, rarely, if ever, paralleled." Canadians who had read history gave full credence to the statement.

## AGREE TO DISAGREE

### II.

The writer in no degree presumes to mirror the opinions, preferences or prejudices of Canadians, from ocean to ocean. One axiom, however, is dear to all: "When we cannot agree, we must agree to disagree." Otherwise, the heterogeneous problems Canadians were called upon to solve, might have been abandoned in despair. With racial discord and religious bickerings in the East and thousands of miles of wilderness in the West, the outlook was far from roseate. The Mother Country, too, faced her own tribulations. Canada was far removed: like other communities, on what was frequently termed the wrong side of the Atlantic, her people became somewhat restive under Downing Street restraint. They were desirous of thinking and acting for themselves; at the same time, ties of consanguinity and other traditionary links, strengthened their attachment to the motherland. Candidly speaking, the Colony, for many years, seemed cast to play the role of Nobody's Child. Some were at times tempted to

succumb to embraces proffered elsewhere; but, generally speaking, Canadians, believing in destiny, determined to seek salvation in self-reliance and untiring industry. Canada was advised by British statesmen to "Go"; Ireland was peremptorily ordered to "Stay"; Canada demanded responsible government; this conceded, prosperity followed. Ireland, checked and hampered, fell behind in the race, and a few years of economic disruption, a few years of absentee rule, found what was a magnificent heritage the centre of eviction, depopulation, famine,—beggary. The picture has been painted by Englishmen and Irishmen, in colours more lugubrious—hence, to the life.

Canada was advised to "Go." What are the facts? As far back as 1828, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Huskisson, held that "the time had come for the separation of Canada from the mother country and her assumption of an independent state." Lord Howick considered that "Great Britain should prepare for the separation, not by fortifying, but preparing for independence." In 1848, Richard Cobden wrote to Mr. Charles Sumner, an able American statesman, assuring him that there would be "no repetition of 1776," "the North American colonies could go their own way." The Earl of Ellenborough, in 1854, informed the House of Lords that he "hoped the Government would communicate with the North American Colonies with the view to separate." A few years after, another cabinet minister "looked forward without regret to the separation of Canada from England." Lord Derby, in 1864, looked forward to Canada being independent, while Mr. W. E. Gladstone, in 1870, justified a vote in Parliament, at a time guaranteeing aid for the construction of an intercolonial Railway, on the ground that "England would be free from the responsibility as to the defence of Canada." The *London Times*, in 1867, said "Empire never spoke with so small and still a voice as when England humbly suggested and greatly aided the idea of a Canadian Confederation." In 1873, that journal again declared the "Empire was sensibly weakened and hampered" by its Canadian colony. Such was British perspicacity, such the appreciation of kin overseas, while huge slices of Maine

and Oregon ("50-40 or fight") had been handed over to the United States. Under the Washington Treaty, Canadians willingly made sacrifices, rather than disturb the peaceful aspirations of the Motherland. Since then, the Alaska surrender by the late Lord Alvers-ton, added another to the arbitative contributions by Canadians; certainly, in this case, with a view towards strengthening the bonds of friendship between the United Kingdom, the United States and the Dominion. Yet, those making and unmaking laws for Ireland at the time, were the statesmen who could foresee only disaster in closer alliance with British North America! To-day, thousands of Orangemen, hundreds of thousands of Protestants and hundreds of thousands of Catholics inhabit the Dominion of Canada. Unless these had schooled themselves in lessons of self-control and tolerance, what state of affairs would now exist? Discord, anarchy,—if not disruption. Instead of so deplorable a possibility, racial, religious and historic anniversaries are celebrated, a spirit of tolerance pervades every community, fulfilling what was once but a poetic dream of the Irish poet, Thomas Davis:

"And oh, 'twould be a Christian deed,  
To prove to all mankind,  
How every race and every creed  
Could be by love combined;  
Could be combined, still ne'er forget,  
The fountain whence they rose;  
As, fed by many a rivulet,  
The lordly Shannon flows!"

Thus electors of all classes march shoulder to shoulder, emphasizing their opinions and preferences, in the ballot boxes,—they vote for one another in municipal and legislative campaigns; indulge in acrimonious controversies, sometimes unpleasantly re-  
 ciminative; but few, indeed, are open to even suspicion of disloyalty to the State. In short: there is a tendency to balk at injustice or ambiguity in constitutional laws, for a democratic people experience difficulty in believing that the ancestry whence so many Canadians sprung was, and is, inherently disloyal, intractable and unworthy of self-government. If true, who were their associates?

Canada was selected by Mr. Gladstone, as an example of what might be and had been achieved under responsible government. This was not accomplished by curbing the aspirations of her people, nor will Ireland really live unless permitted, nay encouraged, to breathe freely. Pink loop administration must be modified; cobwebs have accumulated, musty statutes become gray and worn; the question to ask and answer now is—

### **WHAT OF THE PRESENT GENERATION?**

Again, to illustrate that Canada's policy of broad humanitarianism has so far proved beneficial:—

Public records show that since 1867, Sir John Macdonald, a Scotchman, was the first Prime Minister; Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, a Scotchman, following. Canada has had two Catholic Premiers, Sir John Thompson and the able French-Canadian leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier; Sir J. J. Abbott, an Englishman; Sir Mackenzie Bowell, an Englishman, and Grand Master of the Orange Fraternity; then followed Sir Charles Tupper and Sir Robert Borden. Nova Scotia had earnestly opposed Confederation, still that Province has since acclaimed three of her statesmen in the Dominion Premiership—Sir John Thompson, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir Robert Borden. The presiding Speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Rhodes, is a Nova Scotian, while two Irish Catholics, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick and the Hon. C. J. Doherty are respectively Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Minister of Justice for the Dominion. An exile from Ireland, the Hon. D'Arcy McGee was one of the Canadian delegates at the Confederation conference, and afterwards Minister of Agriculture for the Dominion.

The lesson should impress itself upon those who imagine that in general legislation, race, religion and sectionalism should take precedence over any policy devised for the welfare of the Empire.

What, further, has Canada done towards consolidating scattered Provinces, drawing classes, creeds and races into one democratic family, extinguishing the flames of sectional discord and enforcing the only doctrine by which national unity can be maintained?—ONE LAW FOR ALL. On the very thres-

hold of her career, complex issues arose, demanding self-denial, self-control and a legitimate spirit of toleration. On the very threshold, too, political leaders (for an alliance had for the time being been effected between political parties) faced (1) repeal of Union demanded by Nova Scotia, (2) withdrawal from the Coalition Government of the Liberal leader, Hon. Geo. Brown, (3) termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, (4) invasion of Canada by Irish liberators, (5) motion by United States Congressman Banks for admission of Canada into the Union; at once referred to the Foreign Relations Committee, (6) indifference expressed by British statesmen and a portion of their press, as to Canada remaining a colony of the mother country. Discussion in the British Parliament with reference to Canada, annulling of the Reciprocity Treaty and the Fenian invasions, certainly complicated matters, while annexation propositions added to general disturbance. Considered in the concrete to-day, one can trace through each a blessing in disguise. Canadians, thrown upon their own resources, put to shame the doubters and prophets of disaster, by skimming serenely over what seemed to others impassable breakers. What threatened insuperable trouble proved the reverse: Canadians were taught the lesson of unity, self-dependence, self-reliance; they successfully dealt with uprisings in the North-west; two Fenian invasions; retained Nova Scotia in the brotherhood of Provinces and became a self-sustaining commonwealth, comprising all races and creeds, proclaiming Liberty in the broadest acceptance of the term to those obeying the law, revering and cherishing a constitution vouchsafing safety and protection. It has been stated that Canada, just entering Confederation, encountered momentous sectional embarrassment.

With what result?

## CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

### III.

In June, 1868, Nova Scotia having been included in the Union, the Provincial Government forwarded a minute of Council to the Duke of Buckingham, declaring unalterable determination to



insist upon the restoration of constitutional rights; failing, they "would leave their future destiny in the hands of Him who judges the people righteously, and governs the nations upon earth." That earnest pacifist, John Bright, moved for a commission "to enquire into the cause of discontent in Nova Scotia." This was overwhelmingly defeated in the British House of Commons, the mission of Repeal delegates meeting with condign failure. As to an appeal to the House of Lords, the delegates reported "only fifty peers were in their seats, and only ten when the bill finally passed"; further, "that they could not imagine the Imperial Government would deny Nova Scotia's grievance an independent investigation." With the Nova Scotians, it was the Empire first, the maintenance of a solemn obligation to the Crown of the United Kingdom. They loved the province, but spurned the alternative of armed resistance. Hence, within a few months, after conferences, a few concessions, earnest explanations and more intimate political association—Joseph Howe, a brilliant publicist, one of Canada's great democratic leaders, declared: "I am dealing with the difficulties around me, with a single eye to the good of my country; but let me add—treason and filibustering expeditions, to tear the Province to pieces, are not included in my programme." The Duke of Buckingham sent a despatch to the then Governor General of Canada (Lord Monck) dealing with the protest of Nova Scotia. In this he said: "The measure was believed by Her Majesty's government, to be not merely conducive to the strength and welfare of the Province, but also important to the interests of the whole Empire." "In the interests of the Empire" Nova Scotia—a whole Province—withdraw what threatened to be dangerous opposition. Under similar conditions, why should Ulster have called upon a portion of her people to offer armed resistance? Prime Minister Lloyd George, recently expressing a patriotic desire that an understanding might be arrived at by both sides, said "it would be impossible to impose by force on any section of Ireland which had not their consent." How would this apply to the other two-thirds? Suppose the latter repudiated any final proposition to conciliate Ulster by concessions,

would the Government be obliged to withdraw the proposed Statute, should hostile demonstrations be made?

No man void of self-control finds a bed of roses when accepting the responsibility of counselling others. From a Canadian point of view, statesmanship would suggest forgetfulness and forgiveness, without which there can be no permanent reconciliation. It is madness to talk about unity, if one leader persistently declares, "I tell His Majesty's Government that unless they are prepared to leave us alone, we will recognize the Provisional Government and no other Government. . . . (Give us a clean cut for Ulster, or come and fight us." It is to be feared that language such as this (for conferences failed to restore harmony up to 27th July, 1914) might have precipitated a deadly internecine struggle, had Sir Edward Grey not disclosed the German peril, the grave European crisis. Happily, there is reason to hope for better things.

Postponement of action, procrastination, certainly threatened to complicate the situation. It was folly to perpetuate the experiment of governing two nations by systems diametrically opposed. Democracy for England; Bureaucracy for Ireland; Downing Street precedent for England; Castle rule, Downing Street and specially created Orders-in-Council for Ireland. It was and is an anomaly, therefore a blunder. As Mr. Gladstone said, in 1886, "the only alternative to Home Rule is the renewal of the coercive legislation, which, tested throughout the century, has utterly failed." Since those darksome days, the House of Lords lost its power of unrestricted veto and happily both classes and masses have awakened to the logical conclusion, that as crime in Ireland, since even partial reform, has noticeably decreased, a vast majority of the Irish people must be acquitted of treasonable inclinations. More, justice impels every unbiased observer to decide that statutes whose provisions incite wrongdoing, in reality, justify belief, that opposition to them becomes a cardinal virtue.

It is to be presumed that while deliberations have proceeded, every phase of issues involved passed under review, covering the truth or falsity of allegations made during many years of Irish disturbances.

## AN UNIMPEACHABLE AUTHORITY.

For instance (1) "Disloyalty,"—an unimpeachable authority, Lord Roseberry publicly declared: "It was one of the chief merits of the Irish Parliament, that in time of war, that Parliament was the staunch ally of the British Parliament." Nor must the fact be overlooked, that at the Home Rule convention of 1873, a resolution unanimously adopted set forth: "No religious legislation should be adopted to establish any religious ascendancy in Ireland or to subject any person to disabilities on account of his religion." (2) "Clericalism": Evidence based upon official returns, 1809 (and there has been little change since) showed that out of a Catholic population of 3,301,661, deducting priests incapacitated by old age and illness, there was one for every 1,206 officiating; for 581,000 Episcopaleans, one parson officiated for every 331; that for 443,276 Presbyterians, one minister for every 554; that for 62,000 Methodists, there were 248 officiating clergymen. Mr. Albert C. White published an analysis of the "priest ridden" allegations and declared that "if the priests in Ireland were in the same proportion as the "parsons," there would be 10,000 instead of the number returned. (3) "Intolerance"—Taking Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh and Antrim, for example (Protestant portions of Ireland), the population comprises 321,000 Protestants and 214,000 Catholics. County Council officials number 242, of whom there are 30 Catholics holding places of remuneration. Furthermore, in 17 counties containing 1,845,000 Catholics and 160,000 Protestants, out of an aggregate County Council officialdom of 1,000, 261 are Protestants. The comparison certainly is not favourable to the allegation of Catholic "Intolerance." (4) "Crime"—The latest available figures (annual) dealing with "indictable offences" were: Leinster, 4,534; Ulster, 3,182; Munster, 1,516; Connaught, 641. And it is Ulster that offers to send 70,000 volunteers to protect her people from a Union of interests with the remainder of Ireland. (5) "Illiteracy"—Official returns show the percentage of those over five years of age, capable of reading, as follows: Leinster, 83; Munster, 81; Ulster, 78; Connaught, 73. Strange to say, those who favour self-

government, the Nationalists, have always advocated progress. Mr. Redmond, not long ago, called attention to this phase of the issue, stating that every reform had been espoused by Nationalists and Home Rulers; Catholic Emancipation, Extension of the Franchise, Reform in land laws, the Dublin University bill, voted for by Catholic Irish, were opposed by a vast majority of Protestant Irish. These facts are mentioned, not with a design of recrimination or in a spirit of ungenerous criticism; rather in fairness to a nation too long misrepresented and censured by those remaining blind to all issues involved. If armed opposition to parliamentary enactments is tolerable, what justice would there be in arraigning one portion of Ireland at a criminal bar? Or is it to be understood that in the eye of the law what is heterodox in one portion of a community is orthodox in another? In all racial and religious controversies it were well that professing Christians recognize God as a majority.

### **TWENTIETH CENTURY REDEMPTION OF IRELAND**

A comparison of Ireland's marvellous development under Grattan's regime and results following the legislative Union with England, naturally impresses even prejudiced investigation. During the latter part of the seventeenth century, every line of manufactures, from blankets, carpets, cottons, boots and shoes, to candles, soap and a multitudinous list of domestic requirements, vouchsafed employment to an increasing population. Field and factory flourished, side by side; small villages sprung up; cities and towns were prosperous; then gradual decay. Discontent bred temptation; temptation, intrigue; intrigue, crime. A Royal Commission's report, issued in 1896, on Ireland's financial relations under the Union, is a revelation equally of unfairness and studied indifference on the subject of her internal affairs. True, the Local Government Act of 1898 and Wyndham Act of 1903, to some extent, mitigated Ireland's condition; but the great Revival, the Twentieth Century's Redemption of Ireland, is what true democracy and broad Christianity, hope and pray for. With Irishmen in all walks of life, willing to inculcate self-

denial and influenced by patriotic self-abnegation; with the ubiquitous politician ready to forget self-interest, and public men acting with statesmanlike perspicacity, the blot upon an Empire escutcheon will disappear, the crowning victory of human brotherhood over prejudice and intolerance, be achieved.

Some there are who stigmatize Ireland as a constant source of irritation to the Empire. How has any great reform been grafted on the British Constitution? On the 6th of May last (1917) Arthur J. Balfour, British Foreign Secretary, speaking before the United States Congress, declared that the "rights and status" of the British House of Commons "have only been conquered and permanently secured after centuries of political struggles." Have not other auxiliary portions of the United Kingdom, similar privileges? Years have matured the views of Democracy, and Providence wisely ordains that with age shall come an awakening from belief in, and illusions of, Youth's Infallibility. Knowledge impels uncompromising enmity towards biased opinions and selfish prejudices. Legislative enactments, legal opinions, profoundly convincing, once reverently accepted as emanating from supremist fountains of human wisdom, will turn to ashes under the fierce light of twentieth century logic; that logic the progeny of twentieth century experience. It was the poet Rogers, who, after patiently listening to a friend's expressions of solicitude, lest "proposed improvements of the piers under London Bridge might imperil navigation of the Thames," quietly retorted: "Had such misgivings influenced our ancestors, we should all be eating acorns still."

Verily the time has arrived for illusive masquerading being dispensed with and no more heard about Ireland's incapacity for self-government. Ireland untrustworthy? When was the discovery made? Under what conditions? When laws tend to create rebels, destroy industries and depopulate a country endowed with magnificent resources, why prosecute the victim, rather than abolish the evil? The Commission, whose labours are supposed to be over, clothed with official power to finally adjust controversial issues, doubtless kept steadily in view the lessons of experience: no properly governed nation, controlling resources which, fairly developed, would fill the Treas-

ury to repletion, would deliberately reverse the wheels of industry and imperil its own autonomy. As has already been stated, Ireland is capable of vast expansion. How stood the account before the European war? Exports, \$8,500,000; imports, \$47,000,000 annually! Ever since 1879, Germany, the prospective and present enemy, found an open gate throughout the United Kingdom, imposed almost prohibitive duties upon British entries at German ports; built battleship after battleship out of profits, quadrupled her transport facilities, while portions of Ireland faltered upon the threshold of ruin and decay.

On the 27th of April the Freedom of the City of London was conferred upon the Prime Minister, Lloyd George. Acknowledging the honour, he said: "Settlement of the Irish question is essential for the peace of the world . . . essential to a speedy victory in the war. I appeal to the patriotism of all men to sink everything for the one purpose of getting this question out of the way." Hence, Ulster alone is represented as standing as adamant against the hopes, wishes and declared intentions of the whole Empire! Few in Canada would, under existing circumstances, believe Ulster willing to be proclaimed the stumbling block. To be sure, it has been intimated that a "referendum" may possibly be submitted to the electorate offering such safeguards as may expedite decision and satisfy all factions. On the other hand, county option is suggested. Perhaps it might be "Proportional Representation." Nevertheless, the one critical question arises—would such action prompt or precipitate a renewal of internal disorder in the ranks of certain hot heads? Isolated Ireland, shedding blood in the cause of self-government and world freedom, herself the only nation from whom these blessings are withheld, certainly puts to shame those who charge her with being self-interested and disloyal.

It were well, that Great Britain's Premier, accepting with one hand the trophy symbolizing the Freedom of London, could, with the other hand, have presented a charter of Freedom to the people of Ireland. The Prime Minister promises final action, almost immediately. When accomplished, the Parliament of the United Kingdom will not only vouchsafe bless-

ings for a sister nation, but bring joy to millions in the United States and Canada—joy over the announcement that after years of struggle, right and justice have triumphed.

Recently a member of the British House of Commons expressed disapproval of American citizens interfering with "domestic" issues, meaning Home Rule. It were well had such men as ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, Joseph Choate, Col. Henry Waterson, Elihu Root, Charles Elliot, Bushnell Hart, James M. Beck, Senator Lodge, Colonel George Harvey, William Murray Butler, Chauncey Depew and Poultney Bigelow, been included in a Home Rule conference, where all details were calmly reviewed. The issue belongs not alone to Ireland, but the world at large.

Surely, a future devoted to rehabilitating a splendid portion of the Empire, a policy vouchsafing contentment, prosperity and progress, should commend itself to those to whose ripened knowledge and advanced statesmanship this vital question has been entrusted: a sacred and inviolable trust. Instead of Separation, let there be Reparation; instead of Suspicion, let there be Reconciliation; instead of Segregation, let there be Repatriation. That would indeed be a triumph for civilization, the redemption of a small and hitherto grievously stricken nation, whose people would again turn their eyes towards the beautiful stars, rather than languish amid sombre shadows below.

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